DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 208 452 EA 013 140

AUTHOR	Lindelow, John
TITLE	School-Based Management. School Management Digest, Series 1, No. 23.
INSTITUTION	ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, Eugene, Oreg.; Foundation for Educational Administration, Burlingame, Calif.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	81
CONTRACT	400-78-0007
NOTE	86p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Foundation for Educational Administration, 1757 Old Bayshore Highway, Burlingame, CA 94010 ($4.75).
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Role; Board of Education Role; Case Studies; Centralization; Community Involvement; *Decentralization; Decision Making; Elementary Secondary Education; Governance; Institutional Autonomy; Principals; *School Organization
IDENTIFIERS	Participative Decision Making; School Based Budgeting. *School Based Management

ABSTRACT

Many educators advocate school-based management, a method of decentralization wherein the school, instead of the district office, becomes the primary unit of educational decision-making. This shift is part of American education's long-term oscillation between administrative centralization and decentralization. Centralization, say its critics, has led to rigid, hierarchical structures and a lack of creativity, while decentralization offers greater diversity and flexibility in meeting student needs and gives parents and the community more say in their schools. Examples of school-based management are described in Florida and California and in the school districts of Lansing (Michigan), Edmonton (Alberta), Cherry Creek (Colorado), Louisville (Kentucky), Eugene (Oregon), Salt Lake City (Utah), and New York City. Under school-based management, school boards still set goals and policies and make final decisions, but central offices become facilitators, supporting and evaluating the schools, while principals gain greater authority and assume actual school leadership. Under school-based management the decisions schools control include curriculum matters, personnel selection, and budgeting (within a lump-sum allocation from the district office). School-based management also entails increased staffing and community involvement in decision-making through faculty committees and school advisory councils. (RW)

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SCHOOL-BASED MANAGEMENT

John Lindelow

Prepared by
ERIC Clearinghouse on
Educational Management

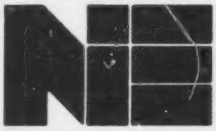
Published by
Foundation for
Educational Administration

#4.75

ERIC/CEM Accession Number: EA 013 140
ERIC/CEM Research Analysis Series Number Fifty-one
ERIC/CEM ISBN 0-86552-077-1

Printed in the United States of America, 1981
Foundation for Educational Administration
1757 Old Bayshore Highway
Burlingame, Californa 94010

Prior to publication, the manuscript was submitted to the Foundation for Educational Administration for critical review and determination of professional competence. This publication has met such standards. Points of view or opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the official view or opinions of the Foundation for Educational Administration.



This publication was prepared with funding from the National Institute of Education, U.S. Department of Education under contract no. 400-78-0007. The opinions expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the positions or policies of NIE or the Department of Education.

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Besides processing documents and journal articles, the Clearinghouse has another major function—information analysis and synthesis. The Clearinghouse prepares bibliographies, literature reviews, state-of-the-knowledge papers, and other interpretive research studies on topics in its educational area.

Foreword

All successful organizations grapple at one time or another with the problem of finding a productive balance between autonomy and control. In the past decade, this problem has come to the fore in the field of public education.

Many educators contend that the balance between the autonomy of individual schools and the control imposed by the central office is askew. In the great majority of the nation's school districts, the central office makes most of the decisions governing the day-to-day operations of individual schools. Critics of this arrangement argue that it is overweighted in favor of control and that as a result school districts have become unresponsive to the needs of both their clientele and school-site personnel.

A new balance between autonomy and control can be achieved in public education, many educators believe, by making the school instead of the district the central locus of educational decision-making. In this special report on school-based management, the case for such a school-centered system of educational governance is put forth.

This report was produced through a special cooperative arrangement between the Association of California School Administrators and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management at the University of Oregon. The topic was planned and developed cooperatively by both organizations. The Clearinghouse researched the topic, using its extensive research facilities and expertise, and prepared the copy for publication by the Foundation for Educational Administration.

The author of this report, John Lindelow, was commissioned by the Clearinghouse as a research analyst and writer.

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Introduction

School-based management is a system of educational administration in which the school is the primary unit of educational decision-making. It differs from most current forms of school district organization in which the central office dominates the decision-making process.

In districts utilizing school-based management, each school is a relatively autonomous unit. Most decisions regarding expenditures, curricula, and personnel are made by school-site personnel in consultation with parents, students, and other community members. The school board continues to formulate and define the district's general policies and educational objectives. The role of the central office, however, is altered from that of "dictator" of individual schools' actions to that of "facilitator" of those actions.

This report will present the case for school-based management as put forth by its proponents, with particular attention given to the key role of the principal in such a management system. Because school-based management is in large part a reaction to what many educators perceive as an overcentralization of power within school districts, these pages necessarily contain criticisms of the centralized systems of school governance that most districts now employ.

An important issue in any discussion of school-based management is the role of the principal. Autonomous schools demand principals who can act as strong and effective leaders. To be effective leaders, principals must have the authority to make important decisions regarding their schools' operations.

Proponents of school-based management argue that the principal's power to make many critical decisions at the school site has been slowly transferred to the central office over the past several decades, yet there has been no concomitant decrease in the principal's responsibility for what goes on in his or her school. Longstreth, for example, sees the principal's dilemma as follows:

> The principal is placed in an extremely difficult position in a centralized management system. The district

> staff has determined how many people will be assigned to the school, what types of people they will be, and frequently who those people will be. But the principal has been held "accountable" for that which is or is not accomplished. District-level directives dictate most of the actions to be performed by the principal, but parents and students generally approach the principal when they are dissatisfied with school practices.

Nolte sees the principal being pressured from both above and below. Many superintendents and school boards pass the accountability buck down to the principal where it most often stops, but they don't give principals the authority and power that should come with the responsibility. "The board can fire a superintendent and the superintendent can get a principal fired," states Nolte, but "a principal who rattles *his* sabre disturbs few people—certainly not the teachers who are job-protected by tenure or union."

At the same time principals are being pressured from above, they are being pressured from below by teachers' unions that hold the principal responsible for their grievances yet bargain directly with the school board. According to Wagstaff:

> As teachers gain power, principals tend to lose it. But there is no concomitant loss in responsibility. In other words, principals are still expected to develop and maintain good educational programs without the power to determine the best use of their primary resource—teachers. In this kind of situation, an administrative truism seems applicable: Responsibility without authority leads to ineffectiveness. Within the general populace, however, principals are held accountable more than ever for the quality and form of education.

"The negotiations process has by and large sidestepped the principal," says Houts. "Principals are frequently called on to carry out agreements that they had no part in reaching." Moreover, states Paul Cunningham, "Boards and Superintendents have relinquished a number of building administrator prerogatives, while still holding them accountable for implementing the Board's approved educational programs." Thus, principals are expected to do the same job but with fewer tools.

Many principals' feelings are echoed by Morison, here responding to the failure of decentralization in New York City:

> Many principals have been able to develop good schools despite the Catch 22 situation in which they find themselves, but it becomes increasingly more difficult to sustain a good school with less and less control over resources. We need to be able to make decisions at the local level.

It is not that many principals do not desire more autonomy. Although some principals might be happier as middle managers, obediently following the dictates of the central office, most seem to be ready and willing to take on more authority and the responsibility that comes with it. In response to the pressures on the principalship and the growing attrition these pressures have caused, the 1980 convention of the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) adopted a resolution to reestablish the autonomy, initiative, and authority of the principalship so that time and attention may be devoted to the improvement of schooling rather than to extraneous matters."

Callison and Beckman surveyed school administrators at an NASSP national convention. The principals were most concerned about issues of control at the school site and least concerned about issues of their own job security. Curriculum, staffing, and budget control were ranked of most concern, while salaries, length of contract, and fringe benefits were ranked lowest.

In other countries, too, building autonomy is an important issue. Holdaway, for example, reports that some of the most important concerns of school administrators in Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and Canada are "increasing autonomy of individual schools" and "increasing involvement of the community in school affairs."

There is widespread agreement, then, that the site administrator must have flexibility, authority, and freedom to effectively exercise leadership over the school. The principal can gain the authority needed to become a true leader if the school replaces the district as the basic unit of educational management. This shift of decision-making

authority from the district to the building level is at the heart of the school-based management concept.

In a school-based management system, funds are allocated to schools based on the needs of the students in those schools. People associated with the school—site administrators, teachers, parents, students (at the secondary level), and other school staff—set the specific educational objectives of the school, decide how funds will be spent for instruction, and determine the organization of instruction.

School-based management goes by many other names, including school site management, decentralized management, school-based budgeting, school site lump sum budgeting, responsible autonomy, shared governance, and the autonomous school concept. In all school-based management plans, the school becomes the center of the educational process, while the traditional dominance of the central office recedes.

The principal in school-based management is returned to a leadership role. Building administrators, states Decker, "become educational leaders through increased responsibility for the total school operation." Along with the increased responsibility, though, comes a great deal of authority over financial, staffing, and curriculum decisions.

An essential component of school-based management is increased community and teacher involvement in decision-making at the school site. Although it is possible to shift power from the central office to the school site without decentralizing it further, all school-based management plans implemented to date include provisions designed to enhance parental, staff, and sometimes student involvement.

The actual extent to which parents and staffs are involved in school decision-making varies widely both among districts utilizing school-based management and among individual schools within school-based management districts. Essentially, school-based management does not give decision-making power to the community and staff of a school, but rather to the school *site* with the principal as its leader. Thus, it is up to the principal in most districts to decide how much real influence others at the school site have.

The site management concept has great promise and has

proved successful in numerous districts where it has been implemented, many of whose experiences are reviewed in this report. In the following chapters, the school-based management concept will be examined in some detail. The rationale underlying decentralized management will be examined, and numerous school systems that have successfully implemented school-based management will be described. The key role of the principal in school-based management will be discussed, along with the complementary role of the central office. The school site's control over curriculum, personnel, and budget matters will be examined, followed by a review of the roles of the staff and community in the decision-making process.

The Rationale

In many districts the administration of education has been centralized to the point of diminishing returns, say critics. A new balance of decentralization and centralization —autonomy and control—needs to be struck. School-based management is designed to redress the current overemphasis on centralization and control by reassigning a good deal of decision-making authority to the school site.

In this chapter, the history of American education will be briefly examined to determine how school districts became so centralized in the first place. The deficiencies of this overcentralization will be outlined, followed by the merits of decentralization to the building level. Finally, the issue of balancing autonomy and control will be addressed.

Autonomy and Control through History

To gain perspective on the current interest in school-based management, it is useful to examine the past history of the centralization-decentralization debate, not only in education but in society in general.

For as long as there has been government, there has been a constant tug-of-war between the concepts of autonomy and control. Indeed, Amitai Etzioni attributes the failures of both past empires and contemporary organizations to an inability "to locate a productive balance between autonomy and control" (quoted by Luvern Cunningham). It is really no surprise, then, that today's educators have not yet found the perfect blend of freedom and form.

One view of the long-term oscillations of centralization and decentralization is provided by Alvin Toffler in his new book *The Third Wave*. Toffler believes society is on the brink of a new "post-industrial" age that will be characterized by decentralization and the encouragement of individual variation. In Toffler's view, the ancient agrarian civilization was washed over about three hundred years ago by a "second wave" of industrialization. According to Zale's review of Toffler's book, "the overriding principles of standardization

and centralization along with a 'covert curriculum' of punctuality, rote learning, and obedience (set up and encouraged by industry and governments) helped train the young for work in the new [industrial] society." The second wave moved children from the fields to regimented schools "designed to meet the needs of the industrial age."

The coming third wave, characterized by "a highly developed informational grid, home computers, and other electronic devices" will challenge today's notions of centralized and standardized education. The large bureaucratic educational institutions will break up as the centers of knowledge disperse into the informational grid. Society will become more democratic, and the family home will be restored as a teaching and social institution.

Whether or not Toffler's analysis of the long-range waxings and wanings of centralization is correct, there appear to be shorter-range oscillations of the concept's popularity as well. American education, for example, has seen a change from a decentralized to a centralized organization, and now appears to be becoming more decentralized again.

In the early years of the United States and up until about 1900, local control and representation in the governance of education were in vogue. According to Kirst, "a decentralized, ward-based committee system for administering the public schools provided effective linkages to community opinion." There were more board members per district than there are today, and each represented the population of an unambiguous geographical area. Some large cities had hundreds of neighborhood boards.

The more than 100,000 school districts in the United States (compared to about 15,000 today) were "truly democratic units," Schofield points out, "incorporating proportionally many more community members in the school government process." It was a period of "maximum feasible participation," as Tucker and Zeigler have called it.

Unfortunately, this kind of decentralized system lent itself to political corruption, particularly in the large urban centers. According to Kirst, "many politicians at the time regarded the schools as a useful support for the spoils system and awarded teaching jobs and contracts in return for political favors." Educational policies were

often adopted not for the public good, but for the self-serving interests of politicians. In short, state Tucker and Zeigler, "school politics, like the machine politics of the urban area of which it was a part, provided responsiveness *and* corruption."

Besides these ills, the schools were thought to have other problems as well. Discipline and learning were "thought to fall far short of acceptable standards," states Guthrie, while the "mighty engine of democracy"—the public school system—was "failing to integrate immigrants and lower class children into the main body of American life." The schools, concludes Guthrie, were thought to be long on politics and short on professionalism.

Public school reformers argued that the cure for these problems was to depoliticize education by transferring the power then held by politicians (and citizens, as Schofield notes) to a professional group of educators. The reformers advocated that educational management be modeled after "the large-scale industrial bureaucracy that rapidly emerged in the turn-of-the-century economy," explains Kirst. The watchwords of reform were "centralization, expertise, professionalism, nonpolitical control, and efficiency."

Between 1920 and 1970, as the reformers' efforts came to fruition, the management of education became more and more centralized and insulated from community politics. School boards became smaller while districts were enlarged. Superintendents and other professional educators gained increasingly greater control over education, while the representative governance of lay boards slowly melted away.

The results of several surveys, reports Kirst, indicate the lack of public representation that is now the norm in the ranks of contemporary professional educators: "Two-thirds of the board members and three-fourths of the superintendents do not think the board's role should be that of a representative of the public desires; they stress, instead, the role of trustee." Board members, say Tucker and Zeigler, "view their role as speaking *for* the administration *to* the public," which is certainly a strange twist in a supposedly representative system.

How has the principal's role changed in response to these radical changes in educational governance? When the

principalship began in the early 1800s, says Houts, "the principal was quite literally the head teacher—one teacher selected from a small group of teachers to handle minor routines." As enrollments and concomitant administrative problems increased, principals began to lose some of their teaching duties and pick up responsibilities for curriculum development, student testing, budgeting, and so forth.

"Up until about 1920," states Houts, "the principal possessed near total autonomy," including total authority for "teacher selection, placement, promotion, and salaries." As the reform movement progressed, however, the new central school boards transformed superintendents from clerks into major policy-makers. While the power of the central office swelled, the autonomy of the building principal slowly eroded, so that today the principals and not the superintendents are often considered to be the "clerks." Today, school boards and superintendents continue to relinquish principals' powers in collective negotiations with teachers' unions, often with little or no consultation with principals.

Sometime in the last decade or two, the swing of the pendulum apparently reached its limit, and it now appears that education may be moving back toward a more decentralized system of governance. Community involvement, decentralization, diversity, shared governance, and school-based management are the key words of this new reform movement. For the principal, this new movement may well mean a return to a true leadership role.

The Deficiencies of Centralization

Most present-day advocates of decentralization and school-based management begin their arguments, logically enough, with an expose of the evils of centralization. Gasson, for example, has this view of the status quo:

> The central office hierarchy regards the school principal as an agent of the superintendent. The principal may ostensibly run the school, but in reality he acts as a vehicle to transmit and implement edicts from the office. As a result, the principal and his teachers have become cogs fixed into a large, impersonal machine

that depends on the machinist (superintendent) to keep every cog uniformly lubricated.

Cross believes the administrative team is essentially an extension of a centralized view of administration, "even though the superintendent may employ a participative style." (Other critics envision the administrative team as an integral part of a decentralized education system.) Cross lists four assumptions underlying the administrative team and thus centralized management:

- Educational needs and values vary little from one attendance area to another within a district.
- Decisions about the operation and program of one school are valid for all schools.
- Decisions by a group of administrators applied to all schools in a district are better than the aggregate of individual decisions of principals (and their faculties) acting independently.
- Effective and efficient school programs result when programs are developed centrally under the direction of an administrative team and implemented by teachers in the various schools.

Centralized educational management, states Pierce, operates on the premise "that education is a science and that with enough information, educational professionals can agree on the best school program for all children." Although these programs are designed with good intentions, critics maintain that their imposition from on high fosters expectations of uniformity and an intolerance for difference. Programs are designed for either the "mythical average" or for the majority, with the result that the special needs of individuals and minority groups are frequently overlooked.

A rigid, hierarchical structure extending from central office to classroom, critics continue, does little to foster innovation and creativity, which require a flexible and supportive atmosphere. "Inflexible bureaucratic structures," states Houts, "can often serve as the best innoculation against individuality and originality."

Curriculum is not the only area where systemwide decisions are inadequate. In many administrative areas, state Cawelti and Howell, local autonomy is desirable because

"too many variables . . . dilute the effectiveness of broad central office decisions." Unique, school-site problems demand unique solutions, designed by school-site personnel. Central mandates often do more harm than good.

The above criticisms are reactions, it seems, to the over-application of the "large-scale industrial bureaucracy" model to the field of education. Now, the tide of public opinion has turned; community involvement and decentralization of power are again in demand.

It is hoped that the pendulum will not now swing to excess in the direction of decentralization. As Schofield points out, "a return to a decentralized education system in which citizen participation is expanded means the re-emergence of 'politics' in school governance." This re-emergence is not necessarily undesirable, but it would be better still if a balance could be struck between the concepts of centralization and decentralization in school management. School-based management, proponents argue, can provide this badly needed balance.

The Efficiency of Decentralization

Proponents of centralizing and consolidating school districts often claim that such actions can reduce the cost of education, and thus increase its "efficiency." Sher and other researchers have studied this issue, particularly in rural districts, and argue from their data that centralization often provides no economic advantages for school districts. Moreover, Pierce and other proponents of school-based management have criticized this definition of efficiency because it takes only dollars into account.

Pierce believes educational efficiency should be defined "in terms of matching available resources with the educational needs of children in schools." Thus, centralized administration, geared to provide uniform services, is efficient only if the needs of its clientele are uniform. "If they are different," states Pierce, "then centralized provision may be inefficient." Decentralized administration, on the other hand, is much more capable of matching educational services with the changing needs of students and parents. Its flexible nature allows it to be efficient in the sense that Pierce defines.

The push for equal opportunity has tended to accentuate the inefficiency of centralized administration. As long as districts are providing equal expenditures per student, equal class size, and the same course offerings, they feel as if they have fulfilled the requirements for equal opportunity.

But to more and more citizens, argues Pierce, equal educational opportunity has come to mean more than just superficial dollar equality or program uniformity. It has come to imply instead a condition in which all students—regardless of social or economic background—can realize their full potential. School-based management, says Pierce, answers this call by encouraging "school program diversity so as to promote equality of educational outcomes rather than inputs."

An idea of equality such as this requires that schools have the flexibility to match their services to the needs of the particular student population they serve. Discretionary control over personnel, curriculum, and expenditures—within broad limits set by the board—would allow the principal to tailor the educational program to the needs and desires of the students and parents in his or her school.

Proponents of school-based management reason that the closer to their constituency decisions are made, the better those decisions will be. Michael Strembitsky, superintendent of the Edmonton (Alberta) Public School District (quoted by Caldwell), calls this bit of rationale the principle of "subsidiarity." In Strembitsky's words, "whatever can best be done at the school level should be done at that level, as opposed to having those functions performed from a centralized location removed from the scene of the action."

According to Pierce, better decisions will be made because school-site personnel are more sensitive to and familiar with the problems of their school and are thus better able to respond to those problems. Better decisions will also result from parent participation in school governance. "Parents and students are more interested in their particular school than in the district," Pierce states, and they are more likely to get involved when the decision-making process is opened to their influence. Increased information from parents allows school personnel to respond to parental preferences.

Although school-based management proponents

espouse the value of community involvement in school governance, none advocates the populist extreme of a full transfer of power to the local community. Rather, they argue for a shift along the centralization-decentralization gradient so that the school, and not the district, is the primary unit of educational governance.

According to Decker, for example, proponents of school-based management "argue that the classroom is too small a unit and the district too large a unit for effective decision-making. Thus, they believe that the school is the most reasonable unit in which to place primary managerial responsibilities and functions."

Lambert states that "the school is the only completely natural unit for efficient, effective, and responsible decision making." The qualities of good education, he continues, "come in administrative packages no larger than the school itself."

Pierce argues that a more decentralized power structure would more closely match the reality of current educational organization. Despite the fact that many professional administrators try to impose a hierarchical, businesslike structure on education, it remains, says Pierce, a "loosely structured" entity, with "little control exercised between levels of the organization." In contrast to a tightly linked organization—with relatively easy control of employees at each level—the subunits of education remain "surprisingly autonomous." Each subunit, Pierce continues, "chooses whether to comply with the regulations and rules established at the level above."

But even though "school districts and school-level personnel remain remarkably immune from centralized control," they continue to be "increasingly frustrated by the paperwork and effort required to meet the formalistic requirements of higher level administrators." Given this reality, concludes Pierce, it may be that the only practical way to administer schools is through a decentralized school-based management approach.

For both Cross and Pierce, the autonomous school idea and the concept of greater diversity and choice in education are closely related. Cross argues that "the increasing acceptance of pluralism in American education," coupled with

the failure of "externally engineered" solutions to educational problems, have caused the rise of the autonomous school concept. "The provision of alternatives," he states, "is the antithesis of the monolithic, districtwide program."

Pierce advocates the coupling of school-based management, which gives parents and students a larger "voice" in education, with districtwide open enrollment plans, which would provide greater "choice." As autonomous schools gained more freedom from centrally mandated philosophies, they would tend to diverge in their approaches to education. If open enrollment plans were instituted, the consumers of education would then have the long-awaited ideals of diversity and choice within the public system.

Balancing Autonomy and Control

What is needed, it seems, is not the abolition of the central office but rather a new balance between the autonomy of the local school and the control imposed by the school board. No one claims that centralized management is inherently evil, for it does have many virtues. Rather, some educators believe that it has been applied to excess in the past fifty years and now holds a stranglehold on the freedom of children, teachers, and principals. Several educators have sought to outline a new balance of power in school governance. They emphasize, states Decker, that "an effective management system may be centralized in some aspects and decentralized in others."

Beaubier and Thayer, for example, have the following view:

> As contrary as it may seem, it is absolutely essential to centralize some aspects of a district's operations for successful decentralization of the operating unit. The most important aspect is to centralize the major goals, objectives, criteria and criterion measures used to assess the outcome. This also necessitates a strong information system that can keep board and central office staff adequately informed to complete their responsibilities. Only with a strong information, reporting and assessment system can a large school district successfully plan, implement and maintain a decentralized system of responsibility and accountability.

Rex Fortune, an officer in the California State Department of Education (quoted in Decker), has this to say about the coexistence of decentralization and centralization in a school district:

> There can be centralized services, such as data processing, accounting, evaluation, transportation, districtwide needs assessment, and district-level budgeting. At the same time there can be decentralized school-level program planning, program development; locally determined staffing patterns; organization of the school site; and, to some extent, school-level budgeting within the parameters of the overall district budget.

In fact, says Fortune, there already are some facets of decentralized management in the California junior and senior high schools that receive state or federal funds for categorical programs. This will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

The real question, according to another California state department officer, Samuel Barrett (also quoted by Decker), is not one of centralization versus decentralization, but rather one of "the proper balance of the two. How can the output of the organization be maximized in an efficient manner by a proper balance of each structure?"

Uniformity in some things, diversity in others, states Decker. "Provision must be made to meet the need for both uniformity throughout the district and diversity at the school site." Attendance accounting, ordering of supplies, and the fair treatment of staff and students should be uniform, while curricula, class sizes, and decision-making techniques should be diverse.

The next chapter examines the ways in which numerous districts have struck a new balance between autonomy and control through school-based management.

Examples of Implementation To Date

The basics of school-based management were apparently first outlined by the staff of the New York State Fleischmann Commission in 1971, according to Pierce. This commission later published a report on the quality, cost, and financing of education in New York. Florida then picked up the idea and developed it further, as can be seen in the report of the Governor's Citizens' Committee on Education (*Improving Education in Florida*) published in 1973. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the concept took root in California where it has been implemented in a few districts.

According to Eleanor Waddell, finance officer in the Oak Grove (California) School District, the concept of site-based management began being advanced by educators about ten to twelve years ago, when school districts started hiring administrators who had been trained in business and industry. These administrators saw the need for better budgeting and management systems in education and began implementing decentralized budgeting and zero-based budgeting. This view is supported by a Monroe County (Florida) School District document, which places the origins of school-based management in business management theory.

School-based management has been implemented primarily in Florida and California, in part because legislation in these states encourages or requires the decentralization of some aspects of school management. In this chapter we will outline the development of school-based management in these two states and look closely at several districts in each state.

School-based management has also sprung up in other districts around the United States and Canada without the provocation of state legislation. We will describe the systems in Lansing (Michigan), Edmonton (Alberta), and Cherry Creek School District (Colorado). An early 1970s experiment in decentralized management in Louisville (Kentucky) will be the next stop, followed by reports on an

elementary school in Eugene (Oregon) and the Salt Lake City school system. The chapter ends with a brief examination of New York City's fight for decentralization.

Florida

In the early 1970s, Florida's legislature passed a series of acts designed to transfer decision-making authority to the school site. This legislation was part of a broader legislative reform of state education and school finance that took place starting in the late 1960s. According to a National Urban Coalition (NUC) document (*Four Case Studies of School Site Lump Sum Budgeting*), the reform movement was stimulated by three major concerns: "tax issues and inter-district revenue equalization problems"; the desire to "foster the development of program and management skills within local districts"; and a desire to increase accountability in education.

In 1971 the governor appointed a citizens' committee that studied Florida's educational system and recommended changes. The committee concluded that the focal point of school governance should be shifted from the district to the local school, based on the philosophy that most decisions regarding education are best made as close to the site of implementation as possible.

The committee recommended several of the essential elements of school-based management, including the transfer of decision-making power for curricula and budget matters to the school site. More specifically, the committee recommended "school-by-school accounting and reporting, strengthening the role of the school principal as manager, annual reports of school progress, school advisory councils, and student choice of programs offered within a cluster of schools," according to Pierce. In contrast to most reports submitted by citizens' committees, the report issued by the Governor's Citizens' Committee on Education had a significant impact on the state's educational system.

Following up on the report's recommendations, Florida's legislature between 1971 and 1973 passed several bills that set "guidelines for educational accountability, comprehensive planning, annual progress reports, school advisory

committees, and a comprehensive information, accounting, and reporting system," states the NUC document. The legislature did *not*, however, "mandate specifically that decisionmaking be decentralized to the school level," as Pierce notes, though it did significantly prune the state education codes to facilitate local control.

Since 1971 several Florida school districts have implemented elements of school-based management, often with the help of grants from the state's Department of Education. Since 1978, the state has funded districts wishing to implement or experiment with school-based management. In both the 1978-1979 and 1979-1980 school years, five of the state's sixty-seven county school districts were given grants. In 1979-1980 those grants totaled about $250,000. Several more districts will be given grants again in 1980-81, according to Larry Brown of the Florida Department of Education.

Despite the attention given community involvement in Florida's reform legislation, the main theme of Florida's school-based management movement has been "principal power," not community involvement, said Pierce in an interview. According to a study by Crowell (discussed by Caldwell), principals in Florida view parental involvement with some skepticism. Parents have had a very minor role in Florida and function primarily in an advisory or assistance capacity, much as the PTA does now, said Pierce.

The implementation of school-based management in Florida has been uneven, despite the legislative mandates and the state funding. The Monroe County School District—reviewed below along with the Alachua and Broward County systems—remains one of the few shining examples of school-based management in the United States, while most of the rest of the state's school districts still move slowly toward decentralized decision-making.

Even though the implementation of school-based management has had only scattered success in Florida, the state is probably the furthest along of any in implementing the system. "School site management is most often talked about in those states that have either large, diverse school districts or a highly centralized state school system," said Pierce in an interview. In Florida, the sixty-seven school

districts are county based. Thus, within one county there can be a wide range of communities that have very different educational needs. The weaknesses of centralization come to the fore in systems, such as Florida's, where the diversity within one district can be great.

School-based management began in Florida—as it has elsewhere—not as a grassroots movement, but as a reform movement promoted by legislative policy-makers, said Pierce. Where it has been successful or partially successful —as in Monroe and Alachua counties—it has been so because of a superintendent who strongly believed in the concept. It seems, as is often the case, that it takes a great deal of energy and persuasion to break down people's conceptions of what can or should be.

School-based management may one day become the norm in Florida, but it will probably be some time before it is. For one thing, Larry Brown told the writer, it simply takes a long time for real change to come about. For another, some people are offended by mandates, such as the Florida mandates requiring the implementation of some elements of school-based management. And finally, there just aren't enough funds to provide for the extensive retraining and restructuring needed to switch to a school-based management system.

Monroe County

Between 1971 and 1976, the Monroe County School District (1980-81 enrollment about 8,000) moved from a centralized to a school-based management system. The change was stimulated both by the state's reform legislation and by the unique geography of the county. Monroe County—composed of a long chain of islands (the Florida Keys)—stretches over one hundred miles from the Florida mainland out into the Gulf of Mexico. The islands are connected by bridges and causeways, and the school centers are clustered in three geographic areas about fifty miles apart.

Armando Henriquez has been the superintendent of Monroe County School District since January 1969. He has been a major factor in the successful implementation of school-based management in that district.

Soon after coming to Monroe, Henriquez—whose training was in centralized management—tried to improve education in the district by traditional means: inservice teacher training, adding curriculum coordinators, and so forth. The central office staff grew, but after three years no significant improvement could be seen.

Henriquez started to ask consultants about the district's problems and began to look at the research literature on school management. Together with the central office staff and the principals, he began to look for ways to reorganize the district. When the group ran across the concept of school-based management, said Henriquez in a telephone interview, "there was kind of an enlightenment that took place among all of us, and we thought this might be the direction to go." The principals, Henriquez noted, did not have to have decentralized decision-making imposed on them by the district, because they were involved in the decision from the very start.

Starting in the 1972-73 school year, the district shifted its training emphasis from central office personnel to building personnel and elevated principals from middle management to top management, with commensurate increases in both salary and responsibility. Prior to the change, the principals were "just carrying out edicts and directives from the central office," said Henriquez, "and there was no chance for the principals to really become managers or exercise any ingenuity or creativity."

School-based management concepts, including shared decision-making with teachers, were phased in slowly over a five-year period, so that teachers, principals, and central office administrators could adjust to the new power structure. During the first year, principals spent more than eighty days outside of their buildings undergoing extensive training in team management and decision-making skills. The training was supported by a grant from the National Institute of Education, grants from the Florida Department of Education, and some of the district's own funds. Four of the state's universities collaborated in the development activities, and an organizational development consultant was hired to help in the training and evaluation. The district benefited because its move toward school-based manage-

ment coincided with the state's interest in implementing the concept.

During the changeover, the number of central office staff fell from twenty-eight to sixteen, partially because of inflation and partially because the schools were deciding what services they needed. The fifteen principals actively participated in deciding which district-level positions would be eliminated or combined with other positions. Despite this central office reduction, the amount of paperwork and communication between the schools and the district office increased. Community involvement also demanded more time and effort. In short, the new system generated a lot more work.

In the Monroe County system, funds are allocated to schools according to both number of students and special school needs. Each school decides how it will spend its funds and what its educational goals will be.

The schools are run by school "teams" that usually consist of the principal, assistant principal, guidance counselor, department heads, and other inhouse personnel. According to Henriquez, 99.9 percent of the decisions reached by the team are based on consensus. If the principal decides to make the decision himself or herself, the other team members must be informed beforehand that they are only offering advice. The same decision-making process is used by district management teams headed by the superintendent.

Besides a school team, each school has an advisory committee composed of parents, teachers, students (at the secondary level), and nonparent citizens. The authority of the fifteen-to-twenty-five member committees depends on the relationship between the professional staff and the community, according to Henriquez. In some schools, the committees are heavily involved in decision-making with the school team, while in other schools the committee's influence is quite restricted. Although state law requires that these committees be involved in establishing goals and plans, their real influence is determined by the principal and school team.

The state also requires each district in Florida to develop a comprehensive educational plan. In the Monroe County

School District, each school develops its own plan, with the restriction that it have "at least one major objective in each of the ten goal areas established by the district," according to a report issued by the district. By fall 1976, the planning system had expanded into a well-developed auditing and evaluating program, designed to assure the accuracy of data used in evaluating the school and principal.

A computerized accounting system was developed to help manage the district's budget. Each school receives a monthly printout indicating the school's expenditures and the balances in each budget category. The information in this report is compiled in several different ways to help school-level personnel in their budget planning process.

The teachers' union did not fully understand school-based management in its early days, but the contract with the union now contains a clause stating that "they agree with and recognize school-based management as the form of management within our district," said Henriquez. The district negotiates salaries, hours and conditions, fringe benefits, grievance procedures, and other related matters with the union. But "the district itself does not hire teachers or other school staff," said Henriquez. "That is strictly the principal's prerogative."

Each spring the district agrees to employ fifteen or twenty new teachers. Each of the teachers in this pool, however, has already been interviewed and approved by at least three of the district's principals. When vacancies occur in the summer, the principals hire from this pool.

The union, stated Henriquez, is reacting very favorably to the system. Teachers have the highest starting salary in the state, have a favorable student-teacher ratio, and can buy their own materials and supplies. Henriquez believes that over 99 percent of the teachers would say they prefer his district to any other, mainly because they have a sense of "ownership" in the decisions made at the school. "That's what school-based management is really all about," said Henriquez, "It's giving people an opportunity to have an input." The trade-off for that input, however, is that it takes a lot of extra time and effort to make the participatory process work.

Henriquez feels that one of his important duties is selec-

ting the right principals. When a principal is needed, central office administrators screen and interview applicants and present three qualified applicants to Henriquez, who makes the final decision. Henriquez says he wants principals to have an allegiance to him and the school board, rather than to the parents, because if the principal is not functioning properly, he wants to have the authority to remove that principal without creating an uproar in the community. When the community is involved in selecting the principal, there might be more compatibility between the principal and the community, but, says Henriquez, "we just haven't felt comfortable enough to go that way yet."

Henriquez believes the role of the school board has changed very little. The board still has the legal responsibility for assuring quality education in the district, and it is still responsible for setting the broad policy objectives within which the district will operate. Its main functions remain "ratifying recommendations or actions that have been delegated to other people" and serving as a decision-making body of last resort. Apparently, the community is quite pleased with the system: in the last election, two board members and Henriquez (an elected superintendent) ran unopposed.

Alachua County

The Alachua County School District (1975-76 enrollment, about 22,000) in north central Florida started moving toward school-based management in 1972, when James Longstreth became superintendent in the district. According to a National Urban Coalition (NUC) document, Longstreth "strongly believed that principals and schools should become the keys to management of the district."

During the 1973-74 school year, the superintendent and principals developed and refined a management model for school-based budgeting. According to the NUC document, Longstreth emphasized these points: that as long as principals "were receiving management salaries, their management-budget authority should match their program responsibilities"; and that as managers, principals should become a part of a district management team. By 1974-75, the district was operating under school-based management.

In the summer of 1974, school staffs in cooperation with their citizen advisory councils prepared a budget for the coming year. The district then "made adjustments or corrections for inflation, pupil-teacher ratio or accreditation minimums," according to the NUC document, and finally the state reviewed the budget and made its allocations in October or November.

The central office staff made the "total operating budget decisions," and the comptroller's office monitored and audited the spending of the individual schools. A key function of the comptroller's office was to offer technical assistance to managers for making budget projections.

In accordance with a state mandate accompanying the Florida Educational Finance Act of 1973, each school established a citizens advisory committee. At least half of the eleven to twenty-five members had to be parents, while the remaining members were teachers, nonparent citizens, students (in middle and high schools), and members of the PTA or other school support groups. The principal was also a member of the committee, but did not have a vote.

The NUC report states that the administrators of the district "offered strong evidence that a great deal of time and effort had been put into expanding opportunities for parents to gain information" about the schools. This effort apparently paid off, for parents reported that information was readily available to them. Parents also indicated that they wanted the school to be open to them, but wanted the professionals to keep running the school.

The superintendent and school board no longer made decisions about how to utilize funds at individual schools. The superintendent viewed his most important functions as selecting site managers, making as much money for the district as possible, "developing standards of service for school programs," and "district planning and continuing evaluation."

The school board members, states the NUC report, were "struggling to redefine their positions." They were supportive of the changes in district management, and were trying to "stay out of administrative issues and housekeeping." The board was also attempting to refocus its energies on "serving as a public forum for concerns about

education, taking a strong hand in shaping policy and working with the superintendent in the selection of school site and district leaders."

The central office staff shifted from control functions to functions of "assistance and advisorship to school managers and staff." For example, the assistant superintendent for personnel maintained a pool of qualified personnel for the schools, instead of allocating personnel to the schools. The number of central office staff was halved during the reorganization, but many of these staff members were sent out to the school sites.

One of the problems of implementing school-based management, said Longstreth in a telephone interview, is that "you really strip some authority from the central staff, and they're not too happy about that." In Alachua County, if central administrators were dissatisfied with their new support roles, Longstreth offered them the opportunity to take one of the new top-level management positions as principal.

Principals, states the NUC report, "had truly become school site managers and participants in the district's management team in Alachua." They reported that they were more cost conscious, did more planning, and had more flexibility to work toward their schools' goals.

Three decision-making styles were used by different principals. Some were autocratic, some sought advice from teachers and parents, and some shared their decision-making. In all three styles, however, "the 'buck' stopped with the principal," states the NUC report.

Principals who survived the changeover were those who enjoyed their new responsibility and authority, said Longstreth. But about 20 to 30 percent of the principals did not want to take on, or couldn't handle, the new decision-making role. Such principals, said Longstreth, are best moved to non-decision-making roles.

In Alachua County, school-based management appeared to encourage experimentation and diversity of program offerings. All schools designed instructional programs that were within the guidelines set by the district. But within those guidelines, the schools could vary their programs, without prior approval from the central office.

A policy of open enrollment couldn't be implemented with the school-based management system, said Longstreth, because the district was interested in maintaining desegregation. Open enrollment, Longstreth believes, would have led to increased segregation.

James Longstreth left the district in 1977 and is now professor of education at the University of Florida in Gainesville. The new superintendent is not a strong backer of decentralization, and the district has drifted back toward a more centralized structure.

Broward County

In 1973, the superintendent and some members of the central office staff of the Broward County School District (1975-76 enrollment 137,416) were looking for ways to decentralize management authority. When the Florida Educational Finance Program was passed in 1973, the district "plunged headlong" into school-based management, according to an NUC report. The NUC's 1977 study of the district found "major departures from traditional management and budgeting practices."

As in Alachua County, budgets were prepared by the school staff and submitted to the district for approval. In Broward County, the funds given to schools were partially restricted, but principals retained authority for shifting nonrestricted funds.

Parents and teachers were involved in school decision-making through a "pyramid structure of school site, area and district advisory councils," in which concerns were simply funneled up to the central office. Parent participation in the schools, states the NUC report, "changed only where officials and principals encouraged such change." Parents reported that information was readily available, but few of the documents reviewed by the NUC's research team "appeared to be geared toward the layman."

The superintendent indicated again that his most important decision was the selection of principals. The central office staff had been transformed from a supervisory to a "monitoring and technical assistance" group. Among some administrators, the "sense of loss of authority" was "acute," states the NUC report.

Personnel officers saw their role as providing a pool of qualified staff for the school sites, and they also assisted in creating inservice programs for the individual schools. Curriculum officers designed "standards of services" and helped school sites meet curricular resource needs.

Changes in the principals' budgeting roles were "often quite dramatic." One high school principal, for example, became responsible for budgeting $2,600,000 one year, as opposed to $60,000 the year before. Some principals were quite satisfied with their new roles, while others were dissatisfied.

Teachers in the district indicated that their roles had not changed, except in schools in which principals used shared-decision-making methods. Teachers felt that their contracts should contain stricter language on class size and teaching time, to prevent principals from taking advantage of them. The teachers also thought their contract might eventually have to include provisions to assure teacher participation in school decision-making.

The implementation of school-based management differed significantly between Alachua and Broward counties. There were differences in "program emphasis, the nature and extent of teacher and citizen input," and "qualitative differences in the perceptions of key players," states the NUC report. School-based management was not as successful in Broward County and "faced opposition from a number of quarters," perhaps because of the "plunge-in" method of implementing the change. According to Pierce, who visited the district in 1978 to evaluate the success of school-based management for the state, the district had reverted back to a more centralized system in response to a budgetary crisis.

California

A 1977 publication of the California Department of Education (see Decker) lists sixty-one California school districts that have "implemented, to some degree, one or more concepts of a decentralized management plan." In thirteen of these districts, the principals "have moderate to substantial latitude in decision-making."

As in Florida, the move toward decentralization in California was stimulated in part by state legislation. The Early Childhood Education Act directed state funds to individual schools that used the money to improve education in the first three grades. The act also had "well defined requisites for parent involvement in the planning, implementation and evaluation of related school programs," states a National Urban Coalition document.

Schools that receive categorical funds from state and federal programs use some elements of decentralized management in administering these programs. Specifically, says Fortune (quoted by Decker), "there is school-level planning; school-level program development; school-level involvement of community, parents, and teachers in the planning; school-level program implementation and assessment; and school-level budgeting within the overall budget provided by the district and the state."

California's most recent school finance reform legislation (AB 65), which incorporated the Early Childhood Education Act, requires that each school in the California School Improvement Program have a school site council. The councils are to be composed of the principal, teachers, other school personnel, parents, and students (at the secondary level). The California State Department of Education, in a document designed to help districts and schools establish councils, outlines these council responsibilities: "developing a school improvement plan, continuously reviewing the implementation of the plan, assessing the effectiveness of the school program, reviewing and updating the school improvement plan, and establishing the annual school improvement budget."

Encouragement for California's move toward school-based management was also provided by a loose-knit consortium of twenty-five superintendents, according to James Guthrie, who was interviewed by telephone. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the superintendents—most of whom were from Southern California—started to meet informally to work on the idea of school-by-school budgeting with the hope that it could improve the delivery of educational services and increase accountability. According to an NUC document, decentralization was also seen by some Cali-

fornia educators as a remedy for the decreased flexibility in education brought on by collective bargaining agreements with teachers. Finally, Governor Jerry Brown and several members of the California State Board of Education were interested in decentralized school management as a means of reforming education, according to Decker.

As in Florida, the implementation of school-based management has been slow in California. According to Guthrie, school site management is "not going at all" in California, or at the very best is "not expanding." Some districts that started the system, such as Newport-Mesa, have gone back to centralized systems. In a few scattered districts, though, school-based management has been a success. Four of these successful districts—Fairfield-Suisun Unified, Irvine Unified, Oak Grove, and Mt. Diablo Unified—will be reviewed below.

Superintendent Stan Corey of Irvine Unified was asked in a telephone interview why school-based management was having such limited success in California. His response was that many districts had not allowed commitment and trust to develop between central administrators and school staffs. Many districts had given responsibility to the school site but then pulled it back in. "It takes a high risk personality and trust to make decentralized management work," said Corey. "You must allow people to develop commitment to the system. For that, the people need to know that their decisions make a difference, and they need to have real power to implement those decisions."

Eleanor Waddell, the finance officer in the Oak Grove School District, believes the main problem in California is the state's restrictive education code. Also, with California's financial problems at present, many school districts are so busy just keeping their heads above water that they don't have the time or the desire for the questions and challenges that school-based management brings.

Fairfield-Suisun Unified

The Fairfield-Suisun Unified School District (1980-81 enrollment about 13,000) began its move toward a decentralized management system in March 1973, after a "careful assessment of its needs," according to Wells and Carr,

principals in the district. The district's objectives included finding the best management system for the district, developing school-based budgeting, providing for community and staff input to the budgetary process, and "improving the community's knowledge of the school district by establishing a district informational system."

Prior to the change to decentralized budgeting, say Wells and Carr, principals had two budgetary functions: they maintained records for a small amount of restricted money given them by the district, and they "learned and used persuasive techniques in obtaining additional 'special money' that a district administrator controlled to use for a local school project."

The district revamped its management system so that site administrators had more control over their budgets. This new control, state Wells and Carr, gave the principals "the substance to change priorities that affect the quality of education at the school site."

The schools are funded on an enrollment basis, but the schools design their own budgets, according to Ernest Moretti, assistant superintendent for instruction. "We encourage the involvement of staff and parents in the decision-making process," said Moretti in a telephone interview, but "the degree of involvement in the schools is really up to the principal." The central office doesn't advocate any one method of involvement, so there are all varieties and extents of involvement. When teachers are more involved in decision-making, though, they become much more aware of what different programs cost, Moretti noted.

Moretti has found some changes in his role as assistant superintendent of instruction. Instead of telling a principal what to do, he has to *convince* the principal to change. He also finds that he has to examine particular problems at school sites in more depth, so he can offer the principal sound advice and convince the principal when a change is needed. "If we're going to hold the principal responsible for the instructional program," said Moretti, "he or she has to have that expertise from the central office available."

In the personnel area, the central office maintains a pool of qualified applicants. Principals make the final personnel selection, with the restriction that intradistrict transfers

must be placed first. The principal is required to put together a panel of teachers and community members to help in the selection process. However, the principal has the final hiring authority.

The district has established the departments of maintenance, data processing, printing, food services, transportation, and personnel as independent budgeting units. Schools buy the services out of their budgets. Large maintenance expenditures and other emergency expenses, however, come out of the district's undistributed reserve. Schools can carry over any budget surpluses they have, said Moretti. Since schools have control over their budget, building personnel have learned to be very ingenious in using and saving funds, particularly on utilities.

The district has a comprehensive monitoring system to provide information on needed changes. The feedback system includes staff and community surveys, a student sentiment index survey, C.T.B.S. Standardized Testing, required state testing, and quality rating of exterior and interior of all school district buildings.

Moretti reports that as a result of the decentralization, there's a lot more communication between the central office and the school sites. "There isn't one central place that has all the answers," said Moretti, so the principals and central staff have to talk a lot more.

Principals have responded favorably to the new system and like their new autonomy. Even though the central staff sometimes thinks it might be easier the old way, said Moretti, "I don't believe there's an administrator out there who would like to go back to the centralized system."

Irvine Unified

The Irvine Unified School District (1980-81 enrollment about 15,000) was created by election in 1972. It consisted at that time of six elementary schools and one high school, with a total enrollment of about 6,000. Today, there are twenty-five schools in the district, and the district's enrollment is continuing to grow at a rate of 10 percent per year.

"From the district's inception," states an NUC document, "the superintendent and school board had agreed that the

school site was to be the basic unit of management." According to Superintendent Stan Corey, the district wanted a management model that would take them through the period of turbulent growth that lay ahead. After eight years, said Corey in a telephone interview, school-based management is working "very well."

The school site is given a good deal of autonomy at Irvine, a finding confirmed by the NUC study group, which found "patterns of management and budgeting that were substantially different from centralized school systems." The principal is responsible for goal setting, needs assessment, reporting educational results to the community, budgeting, program planning, and staff selection, development, and evaluation. But the principal must fully involve the staff in all important decisions or he or she gets in trouble with the central office. "That's the trade-off," said Corey. "He can have lots of autonomy as long as he shows me it's participative. If he can't handle that, then we have to get a new principal."

At Irvine, resources are allocated to the school sites according to a staffing formula that is, in turn, based on the average daily attendance at the school. This method is used to get the resources to the schools in an equitable manner. Once the money is at the school site, said Corey, "the principal can move money around, as long as he can show that the decisions were made participatively and the bottom line is black."

The staff must also be involved in personnel selection. The central office maintains a pool of qualified applicants, and the principal, with staff input, makes the final choice. The school's staff can hire paraprofessionals instead of professionals if they so desire, or they can eliminate a position and buy books, as long as they stay within state laws.

School sites also have substantial latitude over curriculum matters, resulting in a variety of educational approaches. "One of our maxims is that diversity is good," said Corey, so "we try to offer people significant choices between the kinds of schools they send their kids to." To further enhance educational choice, the district maintains a policy of open enrollment.

The central office conducts districtwide curriculum

development projects with heavy staff involvement. For example, a basic skills achievement sequence has been developed, with checkpoints and records on how students are doing. Thus, said Corey, "there are districtwide strands or threads of curriculum that define what is to be accomplished. But how a subject is taught is a site-level decision." Exceptions are the few programs—such as health education—that are mandated by the board.

Each school in the district participating in the California School Improvement Program has a site council, while all other schools have a school advisory forum. The principal, said Corey, is heavily accountable to these community-involvement bodies, but the principal retains final decision-making authority. The extent of community involvement varies with the principal and with the community the school is in.

According to the NUC document, "teachers, parents and site administrators were central participants in planning, design, staff selection and program development for each new facility" in the district's first three years. "Moreover, each group played continuing roles in shaping the overall development of district programs and policies." After about 1975, though, teachers and parents began to concentrate more on their own schools.

To date, said Corey, the teacher association's response has been very good. "So far, we've avoided the separation into 'we' and 'they.' They can't separate themselves from management because they were co-mingled in decision-making tasks."

According to Corey, participative management has paid off in commitment from the district's staff: "We have a lot of people out there who not only view themselves as workers in the vineyard but as decision-makers as well. To the degree that their decision-making is real, then, their commitment is real."

Oak Grove

The Oak Grove School District (1980-81 enrollment 13,676) started a gradual, five-year implementation of decentralized management starting in 1972. The district, now consisting of twenty-two schools, was facing a period

of rapid growth, and decentralized management was seen as the best way to run the district during this time. Also, according to Eleanor Waddell, the finance officer of the district, involving the public in an advisory capacity in school decision-making was seen as a means of generating increased public support for the programs and finances of the district.

Currently, the decentralized system is going well, said Waddell in a telephone interview, although due to the restrictions put on California education by Proposition 13, the district has not decentralized to the extent that it had initially hoped to. Budgeting and curricula development are decentralized, but staffing is not. Because of tight finances, the schools are operating at the maximum-allowed student-teacher ratios, which takes away any staffing flexibility the schools might have had. The principal is involved in personnel interviews and decides who will work in his or her school, but within the restrictions placed by intradistrict transfer policies.

The schools are given their budget allotment—less personnel—and they can spend it any way they see fit. Purchasing decisions are generated by the individual schools, and requisitions are forwarded to the central office, which administers the purchasing process. Besides being cheaper, this system allows the central office to monitor an individual school's budgeting. Some educational programs in the district are also budgeted in a decentralized manner, even though the programs may be used at several of the individual sites.

The decentralized system has generated much diversity in curriculum offerings. Some schools have back-to-basics programs in addition to their regular programs. Other schools have programs utilizing team teaching. According to Waddell, "as long as schools are teaching within the outlines of the district curriculum, they may use whatever supplemental materials they see fit." Supplemental materials, however, must first be reviewed by a district team.

There is no open enrollment plan per se, said Waddell, because the individual schools have been flexible enough to satisfy their clientele. Parents who transfer their children from one school to another through the district's intraschool

program generally do so for reasons other than curriculum.

The leadership styles of the principals vary substantially from school to school. Some are "dictatorial" in style, while others work closely with staff and parents. Unlike Irvine's principals, the principals in Oak Grove are not required by the district to involve parents and staff in day-to-day decision-making, though all schools in the district involve parents to some extent.

Each school has a site council or other group for parent and teacher involvement in decision-making. Even in schools where the principal is more authoritative, the site councils have significant influence, said Waddell. Each local council has a representative on a districtwide advisory committee. If a problem arises at a school, the committee goes back and works with the principal. In the great majority of instances, said Waddell, the principal makes the decision in concurrence with the staff and parents.

The teachers' union, said Waddell, is "pretty well satisfied" with the system, mainly because the potential areas of conflict with the union don't significantly overlap with the concerns of school-based management.

Mt. Diablo Unified

The Mt. Diablo Unified School District east of San Francisco (1980-81 enrollment about 35,000) began implementing school-based management when James Slezak became superintendent there in 1976. Slezak had previously implemented an "individualized school management system" in the Escondido (California) School District, where he was superintendent from 1969 to 1976.

Escondido had been a rapidly growing district of 10,000 students. Mt. Diablo, however, was experiencing a rapid enrollment decline (1976 enrollment: 50,000). Despite these differences in size and enrollment trend, Slezak felt that school-based management could also be successfully implemented at Mt. Diablo.

In 1977, Mt. Diablo Unified received a federal Title IV-C project grant to implement a school-based management system. Title IV-C grants are given for innovative development projects and are administered by the state. Over the next three years, the district received a considerable amount

of additional Title IV-C support to develop a "detailed and sophisticated school-based decision-making system," said Slezak in a telephone interview.

In 1980, the state chose Mt. Diablo as "the number one rated project in the state" and gave the district additional funds to disseminate the results of their school-based management system throughout the state as "an exemplary Title IV-C project." Materials detailing Mt. Diablo's school-based management system can be obtained on request from the district.

To implement school-based management at Mt. Diablo, Slezak, repeating what he had done at Escondido, asked principals to volunteer their schools for the new system. The first year five schools volunteered, the next year fourteen, the next year thirty-one, and in the fourth year forty-four of the district's fifty-eight schools had joined the new management system. By using this gradual implementation process, resistance to the new system was minimized, while those principals who were uncomfortable with the system or incompetent remained in the nonparticipating group.

In September 1980, Slezak left Mt. Diablo to become the executive director of the Association of California School Administrators. If he had stayed, he said in a telephone interview, he would have required the remaining schools to join the system. Such a mandate would force the resistant or incompetent principals to either quit or join the new system.

In Mt. Diablo's system, principals have "as much freedom to chose teachers as is left after teacher contract negotiations," Slezak told the writer. The central office screens applicants and directs them to the schools, where the principal in consultation with teachers and parents decides whom to hire. The principal retains the final say on who is to be hired, however.

Individual schools also have a great deal of freedom to choose their own curricula. State mandates and general school board policies (for example, a requirement for four years of English) are the only restrictions. The selection of teaching methods and materials is left to the individual teacher, though the principal has to approve the choices made.

Each school is given a lump sum that can be spent in any

manner, as long as the school stays in the black and state laws and teacher contract provisions are not violated. Elementary principals work out their budget decisions with teachers, while secondary principals work with department heads. Teachers, said Slezak, have a "great deal" of influence on budget matters. Parents, however, have little, though they have significant influence in curriculum matters.

Parent, teacher, and student (at the secondary level) involvement is obtained through site councils. Every school has a site council, whether or not the school receives funds from the School Improvement Program. Principals are required, not just encouraged, to involve teachers and parents in school decision-making.

The district personnel most difficult to convince about the value of the new system were the central office administrators, said Slezak. They were, in fact, losing power, because their function was changing from that of "control" to that of "service." Some of the central office administrators ended up quitting.

The implementation of a decentralized management system is sometimes accompanied by confusion and lack of coordination among decision-makers. According to Slezak, this problem was avoided at Mt.Diablo through the development of comprehensive "decision analysis charts" that clearly specify "who has the power to make decisions in several hundred situations." The "territorial rights" of the superintendent, board, district office, principals, and teachers are all clearly spelled out in these charts. The district, said Slezak, "was able to implement a shared decision-making system even though it was considered to be extremely large" for such a system.

The success of school-based management, said Slezak, requires that both the central office administrators and the school board "have faith and trust in the school-site staff, and a tolerance and enthusiasm for diversity of school programs." They must also understand and have tolerance for the "differing leadership styles of principals, the varied teaching methods of teachers, and the peculiar needs of students." Especially critical to the success of school-based management, Slezak believes, is a commitment to the system by the superintendent.

Lansing, Michigan

In the Lansing, Michigan, schools, the essential elements of school-based management have been in effect since 1971, and the system is operating smoothly now. The individual schools have considerable autonomy, according to Superintendent Matthew Prophet.

Each school has a twelve-to-thirty-five member citizen involvement committee, consisting of parents, teachers, students (at the secondary level), and building administrators, including the principal. Decisions are arrived at through a "modified" consensus model. Prophet explained in a telephone interview: "The principal is encouraged and, in fact, is obligated to involve citizens and staff in all of the critical decisions made at the building, but the principal retains 51 percent of the stock. In other words, the ultimate decision is made by the principal." However, when a principal is found to be habitually or continually exercising his or her 51 percent, the district intervenes and counsels that principal.

To help this consensus model work, the district has developed a manual on consensus-based decision-making, which gives several examples of how a group might apply the consensus model in attempting to reach decisions. The consensus method is successful 90 percent of the time, Prophet stated, but in about 10 percent of the decisions, there is nonacceptance by community or staff members, who feel that the principal is being too dictatorial.

Even with these problems, Prophet contends, the advantages of a school-based system far outweigh the advantages of a centralized system, which has proved itself time and again to be unresponsive to individual needs. Parents, teachers, and students have all expressed their satisfaction with the decentralized system.

The results of a 1973 study of the district by Throop "showed a centralization of some administrative functions but generally most decisions are forced to the lowest possible level through the philosophy of building autonomy." The overriding philosophy of the autonomy movement in Lansing, continues Throop, is that "decisions affecting the activities, organization, and curriculum of a school community (the staff and parents of that school) may not be

made at the central office." As Prophet put it, the function of the central office is to "facilitate, not dictate."

The diversity of program offerings has increased greatly since school-based management was implemented. Given the diversity of the community, said Prophet, "no single program is needed by all buildings, so each building has to adapt its program to what it perceives its needs to be." The central office staff believe they cannot determine what each building needs relative to other buildings, and they do not tell the schools how to teach math or how to teach reading. "We make available to the schools, however, the opportunity to select from some forty to forty-five different curriculum management systems," said Prophet.

"But while the buildings have that kind of latitude," Prophet continued, "that doesn't mean they have the latitude to determine what the final products are." The central office, in other words, maintains educational standards that the schools must meet, and the central staff measures annually to determine the effectiveness of each school's program. If a school is not living up to district expectations, the central office intervenes.

The central office maintains a pool of qualified applicants for district jobs, but the principals make the decisions about who they want to work in their schools. Each building must hire staff according to a staffing formula. Through mutual agreement with the school's staff, however, the principal can, for example, exchange a professional for two or three paraprofessionals.

Busing is still centralized in Lansing, as is payroll. The schools determine their own budgets, but purchases are made through the central office, except for certain items under $100.

Over the years, the principal population has shifted, as those principals who have been incompatible with Lansing's system have left. The principals, said Prophet, "must have the ability and the inclination to be humanistic and humanitarian in their whole management approach. It takes a very strong and sincere person to exercise this management model. A weaker person can always fall back on the authoritarian model."

Edmonton, Alberta

The Edmonton Public School District (1980-81 enrollment 65,000) decided to implement school-based budgeting in all of its 160 schools in December 1979, after a three-year pilot project in seven volunteer schools in the district. The implementation of school-based budgeting was one part of a major district reorganization. Other changes, according to Caldwell, included:

> the appointment of six associate superintendents, each responsible for the administration of 25-30 schools in two areas of the city; a redefinition of the roles of central office supervisors and consultants; the adoption of zero-base budgeting for the centralized component of the school district budget; and a broadly based program of monitoring activities in the system, with annual surveys of parents, principals, teachers and students.

As in other districts that have decentralized their management, the superintendent in Edmonton, Michael Strembitsky, provided a good part of the initiative for moving the district to school-based budgeting.

In the Edmonton system, the school site is responsible for budgeting for certificated and support staff, supplies, equipment, and services. The parts of the budget that remain centralized include building maintenance and renovation, substitute teachers to cover long-term illness, and utilities.

Allocations to the school sites are determined by a method that "is one of the most elaborate of any system with school-based budgeting," states Caldwell. Allocations vary according to such factors as special education needs of students, type of program, size of school (schools with fewer than 100 students receive more funding), rate of student transience, and enrollment in such programs as home economics, industrial arts, and extended French programs.

Despite initial fears to the contrary, the principal's role has become "more that of instructional planner than bookkeeper or business manager," states Caldwell. The successful change to instructional planner, Caldwell notes, is dependent on the provision of support services from the central office.

It is too soon, states Caldwell, to assess the impact of decentralized budgeting in Edmonton. However, "experience in the three-year pilot and in other jurisdictions suggests that it will be favorably received at all levels following stabilization of the change." The district is taking pains to retrain its staff in school-based budgeting, an action that seems imperative to the success of any major management change.

Cherry Creek School District, Colorado

The Cherry Creek School District (1980-81 enrollment about 21,000) in suburban-metropolitan Denver, has used school-based management for as long as Principal Doug Gowler can remember, and Gowler has been there for eight years. In fact, the district's management system is the reason Gowler came to Cherry Creek: it was a place where a principal could be a true educational leader.

"It is to the point that when the district opens a new school, the principal gets a shell and must design and develop everything in it," said Gowler in a telephone interview. He estimated that he had "95 percent or more autonomy" over personnel and curriculum in the Sagebrush Elementary School that he heads.

The central office staff remains very small, even though the district has expanded from eleven to thirty-one schools in the past eight years. Thus, the individual schools perform many of the traditional central office functions. With a smaller central office staff, the principals can be paid well for their extra duties.

"Our superintendent sees principals as curriculum directors, directors of special education, directors of finance, and so on, as well as principals," states Gowler in a *National Elementary Principal* article. "He hires us to do all those things, and he gives us the freedom to do them. In other words, he lets us rise or fall on our own strengths and abilities."

When Sagebrush Elementary needs to hire a new teacher, Gowler sits down with the teacher team with which the new teacher will work, and together they work out a job description that is then advertised. The district's personnel

department does the initial screening, Gowler interviews the applicants he thinks may be good for the job, then he sends the best of these — those who could "teach under a tree" — to the teacher team and the team makes the final choice.

When a teacher slot opens up, the school can hire paraprofessionals or a professional. The teachers' union would not argue with this, said Gowler, and "would challenge any union to challenge them." Both the teachers and Gowler believe that their primary responsibility is "to design appropriately to meet the needs of the kids, and if that means that we buy *only* paraprofessionals, we can do that."

Gowler and the school's staff design and continually refine most of their own instructional materials, and they design according to the students' needs. They do not use any major publisher's curricula in the building.

Other principals in the district also have the opportunity to run their schools the way they see fit. Gowler admits he is disappointed with some of them because they have simply adopted a published curriculum system, even though they have the opportunity to design their own system "and show what education is really all about."

Parents have been very much involved in Sagebrush Elementary ever since it was built, even before it was built. Community support, said Gowler, is "fantastically strong." Gowler works with parents through the parent-teacher organization, and parents work closely with Gowler in developing school policy.

What makes the difference in Cherry Creek are commitment and trust, said Gowler. The staff is extremely committed to their school and spend extra time to make it work. Superintendent Richard Koeppe trusts the staffs of Sagebrush Elementary and the other schools in the district to do their job. The result is a newfound sense of freedom for the principal, which Gowler described as "absolutely fantastic."

Louisville, Kentucky

In the early 1970s, the Louisville School District operated under a decentralized management system that incorpo-

rated many of the elements of school-based management. The district, under the superintendency of Dr. Newman Walker (now superintendent of the Palo Alto, California, School District), was a recipient of substantial amounts of federal aid, and was involved in fifty to sixty federal projects in the early 1970s.

The move toward decentralization started in 1969 as a "humanistic" attempt to cope with inner-city problems, said Walker in a telephone interview. The district did a lot of training based on Carl Rogers' philosophy, in particular the ideas expressed in his book *Freedom to Learn*. At the same time, the district was looking for ways to improve management through management-by-objectives and increased community involvement.

"Neighborhood school boards" were formed at each school to enhance community participation in educational decision-making. The boards consisted of the school's principal (ex officio member), and parents, teachers, students, and other citizens, elected for one-year terms. They functioned as "mini-boards of education" at the school site, said Walker, and the central board delegated a substantial amount of authority to them. Because the local boards had no legal status in Kentucky, the Louisville School Board had to "rubber stamp" some of their actions, according to Riley.

The principal had authority over personnel selection, but the neighborhood school boards were often involved, too. Some local boards even got into personnel evaluation, said Walker.

According to Larry Barber, a central office administrator in the district in the early 1970s, the principals were essentially the "superintendents" of their schools. The local boards set educational standards, and the teachers innovated a great deal. The central office acted as a support agency, conducting evaluations and testing and providing technical assistance.

In 1975, the Louisville School District and the surrounding county district were ordered by a federal court to desegregate their schools by busing students from one district to another. The result of this order was the merging of the Louisville School District with the county district. A legal outcome of this merger was the dissolution of the Louisville

central administration. Without the support of Walker, Barber, and other leaders in the central administration, the neighborhood school boards fell apart and the grand experiment in decentralized management ended.

Willagillespie Elementary School
Eugene, Oregon

In 1978, the National Council for Citizens in Education (NCCE) was planning to sponsor a pilot project to study school-based management in six individual schools around the nation. Willagillespie Elementary School was one of the schools chosen. The principal, Mike Brott, attended a training session in school-based management, along with the superintendent, two school board members, two teachers, and two parents from the school. When the NCCE's funding for the project fell through, Willagillespie decided to go ahead on its own.

"Basically," said Brott in a telephone interview, "the district has agreed that we will be a school-based management school. We follow the same procedures as the other schools in the district, with some exceptions." The school is given its funds—other than those for personnel—in a lump sum, and the school council decides how it will be budgeted.

The school council consists of seven parent members and seven staff members. The staff members include the principal, the community school coordinator, one person from the classified staff, and teachers from different class levels. What makes this council different from other school councils is that each of the fourteen members is equal. The principal does not have "veto" power. Decisions are made on a consensus basis when possible, but when consensus can't be achieved, majority rule is used.

The council decides how the budget will be distributed, how the curriculum will be implemented within the district's curriculum guidelines, and who will work in the school, within the limitations of the teachers' contracts. The teachers' association, said Brott, "thought we were crazy to try it, but they've left us alone."

Brott is quite pleased with his new role. Sharing the authority, he notes, means also sharing the responsibility.

"When people have a stake in a decision, then they're willing to see that it works. Rather than my making a decision and getting chewed out for making a mistake, the whole group is responsible for a wrong decision."

Salt Lake City, Utah

In Salt Lake City, the public school district has "recaptured" hundreds of students from the private schools by using several innovations, including school-based management. According to Parker, each school has an improvement council consisting of teachers and administrators, and a community council consisting of the principal and parents. The two groups work together to run the school. They "establish the schedule for the school year, make policy, set disciplinary standards, and manipulate the school budget in whatever way they see fit," writes Parker. In addition, they are free to design the curriculum, which has resulted in a wide variety of educational approaches in the district, ranging from back-to-basics to open classrooms. Superintendent Donald Thomas, quoted by Parker, states unabashedly that "school based management is the best thing that ever happened to public education."

New York City

New York City, Detroit, and Los Angeles have all been attempting—with various degrees of success—to decentralize their huge districts. This decentralization, however, consists mainly of dividing one giant district into several large districts.

Although reformers hoped it would do so, "decentralization of the New York City school system did not bring about greater participation of school-parent organizations in governance activities," according to a study by Franse. After studying community participation in one New York City district, Byrne concluded that "those forces which dominated the education system under centralization continued to do so under decentralization. Between 1970 and 1977, local education remained brokered among the Democratic Party, union groups, and religious associations."

Each year, New York City's thirty-two districts elect community school boards. These boards, says Morison, "are (or should be) the focus of the continuing struggle for decentralized community control that began in the late sixties." In a June 1980 article, Morison—the principal of P.S. 84 in New York City—describes some of the battles that the local community school board has fought with the powerful central board.

After ten years of unhappiness with "decentralization," and the politics of school district control, reformers in New York City are looking for other ways to improve education in the classroom. One potential reform being considered is school-based management.

The Transfer of Authority

In a school-based management system, the principal becomes the central actor. The great responsibility that the principal now shoulders is—finally—matched by an equivalent measure of authority. With both the responsibility and the authority, the principal is free to become the leader of his or her school.

The relationship that will be most changed by the implementation of school-based management is that between the central office and the school site. Because the site administrator will inherit power and authority from the central office, the roles of the central office administrators will change nearly as much as the role of the principal. Thus, before the principal's new role is described in detail, the complementary role of the central office will be outlined. And prior to that, the school board's role in a school-based management system will be briefly reviewed.

The School Board

In a change to school-based management, the role of the school board would not change significantly. The board's primary duties would be providing general direction for the district by establishing goals and policy statements, keeping informed about the district's progress toward goals, and acting as a decision-maker of last resort.

According to Paul Cunningham, a school board member in Cambridge, Maryland, the school board would not relinquish any of its power in a change to a decentralized budgeting system. The board's role would remain that of developing broad policies for the operation of the school district. As Cunningham notes, "when the board makes the decision to decentralize the decision-making process, it is exercising policy development of the highest order." Once the decision has been made, continues Cunningham,

> it is the responsibility of the superintendent to submit a plan for board approval. The board is not relinquishing any of its authority to fix the budget. In the event

that a budget must be reduced, the superintendent is given the directive and the amount by which it is to be cut. The staff (including building principals), on the other hand, should determine where the cuts are to be made.

Advocates of school-based management point out that redistributing the power in the district can work to the advantage of the school board because, as Parker states, "the total school system becomes more accountable and those at the top can get more results." Parker quotes Oron South, an organizational development consultant to Monroe County during its change to school-based management, as saying that decentralized management gives board members "a greater sense of power—not so much to order people around, but finally to get something done."

The superintendent would still remain responsible to the board for administrative decisions, but the decisions that are best made at the school site would now be made there, instead of in the central office. Ideally, said Pierce in an interview, the function of the board would be "to see that as many educational decisions as possible were made by school level personnel, at the place where the problems exist."

A major advantage of school-based management is that it clarifies the roles of district personnel, particularly the roles of the central and site administrators. School-based management can, states Longstreth, "and in many instances has, provided the blend of roles that enables board members to exercise leadership, while ensuring an orderly, effective operation of the school system."

Support from the school board is vital to the success of school-based management. As Longstreth points out, districts that have tried to initiate school site management "without school board endorsement or with their grudging acceptance of the program have not generally received continuing support" from the board.

If the new management system is to stick, the board members—after giving their approval for the system—should be involved in a continuing education and training program, to ensure their uninterrupted support. Without such a program, Longstreth continues, the board, when faced with a crisis, may revert to its accustomed behavior

and take "centralized district-wide action. Although such action may not be appropriate for all schools within the district, it will be taken to demonstrate to the community that the board is 'on top' of the educational needs of the system." A return to centralized action is, in fact, what happened in the Alachua County (Florida) district, after Longstreth, a strong advocate of school-based management, left the superintendency there.

The board should be kept well informed about what is going on in the district. In the early years of implementation, cautions Longstreth, "there will appear to be a looseness of organization, a disunity of the school system." For a board member, it would be tempting during such a period to impose a traditional kind of centralized order on the district, to bring the individual schools "back into line." If kept appropriately informed, however, the board may well realize that the individual schools are simply responding to their clients' needs, and that a looser rein on their part may well be the best action they can take.

The Central Office: Facilitator

In a school-based management system, central administrators shed some of their authority and become managers of the school system instead of its bosses. They become support and evaluative staff for the schools instead of directors. In short, they "facilitate, not dictate," as Matthew Prophet put it.

The principal and other school site personnel design the budget, hire instructors and other school personnel, and work out the curriculum. The central office focus on "developing student and staff performance standards, offering technical assistance to schools," determining how much funding each school should get, and "carrying out systemwide planning, monitoring and evaluation," states a National Urban Coalition (NUC) document.

In districts that have gone to school-based management, the primary element of the central administrator's new role has been "program auditing," says Longstreth, or "determining the extent to which goals and objectives are met." Another major element has been providing technical assist-

ance for building-level administrators to help them in their decision-making process. With this kind of support from the central office, it is much less likely that the quality of performance will deteriorate at individual schools, as some district staff fear.

The role of the chief business official in the district has traditionally been a combination of three functions—maintaining tight fiscal control over school budgets, providing technical assistance to the schools, and acting as the comptroller, or monitor, of district expenditures. In a school-based management system, tight fiscal control becomes the responsibility of the principal, but the business officer continues the other two functions. Longstreth enumerates the budget official's responsibilities in a school-based management system as follows:

> analyzing the revenue for the budget year under consideration, assisting in the allocation of sufficient dollars to fuel the programs at the school level, preparing the overall budget (including the individual school budgets as determined by the principals and local school participants), maintaining the administrative responsibilities of the finance department, providing technical assistance to the principals, and ensuring that the superintendent and the school board are continuously informed as to the current financial condition of the district.

William Dickey, business administrator for the Alachua County (Florida) School District in 1977, reports that decentralized budgeting "greatly reduces the responsibility of the school business official and substantially modifies his traditional role." Under a school-based management system, says Dickey,

> The school business official becomes a coordinator and controller of the budget and soon realizes, to his surprise, that he has an ally in the school principal. Whereas previously the school business official was one of the few employees in the school district who worried about enrollment fluctuation, utility costs, and the budget in general, he now has each principal worrying about those things for him.

The school site determines what items it would like to purchase and then forwards a requisition order to the pur-

chasing officer at the central office. The purchasing officer orders the items, pays the vendor, and charges the school's budget accordingly. The central office can keep an eye on the schools' purchases in this way and make sure that the schools don't overshoot their submitted budget. According to Longstreth, "such a process is orderly and provides checks and balances against overspending," while enabling the principal and school staff to "actually manage the school."

The personnel officer is still responsible for recruiting employees, collecting information about applicants, maintaining personnel records, and providing technical assistance to the school site. But the principal and other building level personnel are responsible for selecting staff for their school.

In many districts that have implemented school-based management, the district maintains a pool of qualified applicants from which the principal can select. In Lansing, Michigan, where there is a strong teachers' association, each building must still hire according to a staffing formula. However, the formula can be altered if the decision has been made mutually between the principal and the school's staff.

The chief instructional officer of the district should maintain the traditional functions of that office—providing technical assistance and general direction to the schools, and monitoring the school's effectiveness—but should not dictate the details of the curriculum. The district should continue to require that students become competent in basic skills, and should monitor the schools with both standardized tests and visitation. But the individual schools should be free to meet the district's educational goals in whatever way they see fit.

The superintendent should continue to be the chief administrator of the district and should continue to be the one person responsible to the board for administrative decisions, advises Longstreth. In some states, in fact (such as Florida), there is a serious legal question whether the school board can delegate its authority below the level of the superintendent, as Pierce noted in his interview.

Experience in district after district has shown that strong

support for school-based management from the superintendent is absolutely necessary for its proper implementation. Superintendents will support the concept once they realize that it can help them meet the responsibilities of their office in a more effective and efficient manner; when the entire system becomes more accountable and responsive to client needs, say proponents of school-based management, the job at the top gets easier and easier.

Although the role changes are equally profound, it is probably more difficult for central administrators to switch to school-based management than it is for principals. Central administrators are, after all, *losing* power in the change, and most people are quite reluctant to give up any power they might have.

This kind of change requires, first of all, "an understanding and commitment to the principles of decentralized management, and a willingness to live with the good and bad decisions" of others in the district, says Pierce. It also requires the kind of central administrators who have advanced along Maslow's hierarchy of needs to the point that they would not hoard power to satisfy their personal power needs.

The Principal: School Leader

> The renewal or remaking of society is imaged in the remaking, the restructuring of education, which, in turn, is epitomized by the remaking of the principalship.

These words of John Bremer reflect the growing consensus among educators that the leadership role of the principal must be exhumed and revived if education—and society—are ever to find new vitality. The importance of the principal to quality schooling is attested to by legions of educators and researchers. "One of the few uncontested findings in educational research," states the chief executive officer of the NASSP (See "An Interview with Scott Thomson"), "is that the principal makes the difference between a mediocre and a good school."

Both Bremer and Thomson believe that an effective principalship demands considerable autonomy and authority for the building administrator. Common sense and modern

management theory agree, continues Thomson, that true educational leadership can only be achieved when the principal is "freed from the blanket of directives and reports and meetings which now suffocate performance." Within the limits of general objectives established by the central office and board, the principal and school staff "should enjoy considerable latitude in decision making about program, personnel, and budget."

The principal is in a strategic position in the school system, bridging at once the gaps between the central office, the classroom, and the community. The building site administrator, states Houts, "is the only person within the school structure who faces both inward toward the school and outward toward the larger school system and the public; who is the key link between school and community." Yet too many superintendents still view principals "as little more than glorified clerks."

If the principal is to become a true leader, he or she must be given the authority and power that leadership demands—power to back up decisions, power to alter the blend of educational resources at the school site, and power enough to match the responsibility that the principalship now bears. To gain this power, states Gasson, "the stranglehold of the central office over most of education decision making in each school must be removed."

For a school system to be truly accountable, says Guthrie, "it is imperative that there be a chief executive, the principal." Only when the responsibility for educational outcomes and the authority for making educational decisions reside in the same unit can true accountability be established. Presently, most important decisions are made in the central office and passed down the line to principals and then to teachers. But the responsibility for educational outcomes is a hot potato, juggled from principal to teacher to central office and never seeming to come to rest. School-based management seeks to fix responsibilities where they belong and thus close "the gap between the authority for initiating and operating school programs and the responsibility for their success or failure," as Shuster states.

School-based management "strips away much of the 'buck passing' in school management," says Longstreth;

"the principal is quickly recognized as the key decision-maker in the system." The principal as autonomous leader, states Gasson, "will be much more effective defending and explaining his own school's educational philosophy than he was rationalizing directions from the central office."

From all accounts, it appears that school-based management would mean more work for the principal. The building site administrator, states a National Urban Coalition document, "would have to attend a much larger set of managerial tasks tied to the delivery of educational services," including "program planning, development and evaluation, personnel selection and assignment, staff development and evaluation, and budget management." In addition, the principal would be further burdened by the extra time and effort required by shared decision-making processes at the school site.

This added burden may discourage some already overworked principals from trying the system. But it should be remembered that along with the extra burden, the principal is gaining authority and autonomy to guide his or her own school. The rewards of leadership and authority may well be sufficient compensation for the added administrative burden.

The success of the principal in the new role depends largely on the availability of support services from the central office. As Caldwell states, "Any hope of enhancing the role of the principal as an instructional leader will surely be confounded if adequate support systems are not in place; in their absence, the principal may indeed be no more than a bookkeeper or business manager."

According to both a study by Craig (reported by Moore) and the testimonials of central office administrators, the flow of information between the central office and the school site has increased significantly when school-based management has been implemented. An exception to this tendency is found in the Cherry Creek School District in Colorado, where Principal Doug Gowler reports very little communication between school sites and central office, mainly because the school sites are performing most of the traditional central office duties.

Although most principals will respond positively to the

opportunity to become autonomous school leaders, some will not. A common figure given by school-based management consultants is that 20 to 30 percent of principals will not find the system satisfactory. Many in this fraction would rather continue to be middle managers for the district, and they may view the new management system as a threat.

Thus, the selection of the principals for the district becomes quite important. In fact, many superintendents in districts with school-based management systems regard principal selection as their primary and most important responsibility. In most states, the free selection of principals by districts is often hindered by principal tenure laws. In Florida, the legislature eliminated principal tenure in 1974, thus granting districts the opportunity to pick and choose the best principals for their needs.

Longstreth observed districts that had implemented school-based management and concluded that principals should be chosen by a procedure that allows faculty and community input. One method is to have the school board and central office choose three or four qualified applicants and send them to the school council for the final decision. Another method is to have the council do the initial screening and let the superintendent or board make the final decision.

Principals should be periodically evaluated by the superintendent or by a team of central administrators, advises Longstreth. The evaluators should judge the principals in the following areas: "relationships with the public," "relationships with the staff," "fiscal competence," and "program productivity."

The dramatic change in the principal's role necessitates extensive retraining of principals. Without retraining, the new management system will probably not survive its first real challenge. Instead of working with the new system when a crisis arises, people will tend to fall back on the workings of the familiar centralized system.

To further help principals adjust, Longstreth recommends that districts develop guidebooks for principals. In districts where guidebooks have been used, "some uniformity of management" has been created in the district, states Longs-

treth, while some of the "isolation problems" that sometimes accompany autonomous schools have been avoided.

If school-based management is to work in the long run, the preparation of principals must be modified. "Instructional, curricular, and community leadership requires not only a vast amount of time," states Shuster, "but also high-level competence for which principals have not been prepared."

Shuster recommends several modifications to the present principal training system to broaden principals for their new leadership role. For example, training programs should be expanded to cover a full two years to "provide a broad background in such areas as philosophical and psychological foundations of learning, child development, community understanding, human relations, and leadership training." Students should be given field-based training in several schools under the supervision of both a college instructor and a practicing principal.

Finally, states Shuster, preparation programs should provide two types of internship. In the first, the student should "shadow" a practicing principal in all activities "until their roles are reversed so that the principal does the 'shadowing' and the student provides the leadership." In the second, the student should intern in a public agency other than a school to learn "how to use an organization to help attain goals, and how to deal with pressure groups."

Three Critical Control Areas

Which kinds of decisions should be decentralized to the school site, and which should remain centralized? The professional educators in thirty-nine California districts with some level of decentralization were asked this question in a 1976 survey, reported by Decker. The responses are as follows (parentheses indicate those groups of educators not agreeing with the majority):

Areas that should be decentralized:

- Budget and fiscal planning
- Accounting
- Personnel, classified and certificated (business officials, personnel directors, and presidents of professional organizations)
- Curriculum development (governing board presidents)
- Counseling and pupil personnel services (superintendents)
- Public relations
- Civic center use of facilities

Areas that should remain centralized:

- Transportation (principals)
- Plant maintenance (principals and presidents of professional organizations
- Custodial services (principals and presidents of professional organizations)
- Grounds maintenance (principals and presidents of professional organizations)
- Equipment maintenance
- Purchasing (principals and presidents of professional organizations)
- Warehousing
- Food services (presidents of professional organizations)
- Data processing

These results, states Pierce, support "the conclusion that decisions related to the delivery of school programs (personnel, curriculum and budgeting) can be effectively de-

centralized while those decisions which provide supportive service (transportation, maintenance, warehousing, data processing, etc.) should remain centralized." These perceptions were shared by the administrators in school-based management districts interviewed for this report.

Pierce also notes that most of the objections to decentralization come, predictably, from central office staff, while objections to centralization come from principals and teachers. The implication is, says Pierce, "that most principals and teachers are willing to accept more responsibility for decision-making than central office personnel are probably willing to give them."

The three main areas in which principals and their staffs would gain authority in a school-based management system are curriculum, personnel, and budget. Each of these critical areas is reviewed separately below.

Curriculum

In a school-based management system, the school site has near total autonomy over curriculum matters. Within broad outlines defined by the board, the individual schools are free to teach in any manner they see fit. As long as a school is attaining the educational goals set by the board, the district does not intervene. The district provides technical assistance to the school sites in instructional matters and monitors the schools' effectiveness. The principal works with staff and parents to determine educational needs and designs the school's curriculum around these needs.

This is in strong contrast to the present situation in many districts, here described by Gasson:

> The bureaucratic system, firmly established on generations of precedent, has created not only conforming non educators, but also teachers who accept the premise that teacher decision making should be very limited. Curriculum guides, time allocation for subjects, and determination of textbooks are but a few of the many educational decisions made from on high. This collective direction by the central office—and its accompanying acceptance by many teachers—is why school curriculums are often irrelevant. They are

> packaged, sent to the principal, interpreted by teachers, and perceived by pupils in a manner that probably bears little relationship to the authors' original conceptions, which may not have been relevant anyway!

In the Sagebrush Elementary School in Colorado, teachers are certainly not the "textbook technicians" that Gasson describes. This school uses *no* premanufactured curriculum. All instructional materials are developed at the school site by the teachers and administrators.

Sagebrush Elementary may be exceptional, but school-based management proponents claim that most schools can be this free from the textbook barons. In site management schools less creative than Sagebrush, the staff has usually diversified its curricula by selecting a variety of published materials, as opposed to using the district's suggested curricula. In Lansing, the district maintains a large number of curricula systems from which the schools can choose. In other districts, the schools can use whatever curricula they choose, but they must be screened by the central office first. In most school-based management districts, though, the board and central office establish an outline of educational objectives and leave the schools free to meet those objectives in any way they see fit.

In a school-based management system, states Pierce, one of the principal's multiple roles is that of "program manager." Since most principals were once teachers, the transition in roles is not necessarily a difficult one. The program manager's duties, continues Pierce, include

> assessing the educational preferences of the community and the requirements of students in the school, establishing educational objectives for the students, matching the skills and interests of teachers with the educational requirements and styles of students, developing ways of assessing the achievement of classroom objectives, monitoring the performance of teachers and students, and reporting on the successes and failures to the community and the district.

"Initially," state Garms, Guthrie, and Pierce, "schools would undoubtedly find that state curriculum require-

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ments and pressures from national accreditation and testing organizations leave little room for curriculum innovation at the school level." But state requirements could be relaxed over time, they state, allowing schools to develop their own curricula. In practice, districts switching to school-based management have not had much difficulty in this area.

In general, a district's implementation of school-based management has led to an increase in the diversity of educational approaches in that district. Teachers and principals gain more freedom to design their own instructional programs, and parents gain more influence on the design of those programs. Some schools may opt for a back-to-basics focus, others for open classrooms. Still others may adopt both approaches and have "schools within schools."

Some school districts, such as Irvine, have combined school-based management, which increases parental "voice," with open enrollment, which enhances parental "choice." With such a combination, parents' opportunities to have their children educated as they wish is maximized. Districts serving communities less racially homogeneous than Irvine—such as Alachua County (Florida)—have shied away from open enrollment, because it would work against desegregation in those communities.

Personnel

If principals are to tailor their schools' educational programs to the needs and desires of the community, they must have control of their major resource—teachers. In most existing districts with school-based management, principals make the final choice of who will work in their schools. The situation in most of these districts, in fact, approaches the idea of the "autonomous principal" as described by Gasson:

> Information about specific vacancies in each school would be available at the central office, and principals would be responsible for hiring their own teachers. Applicants would be allowed to visit the school so that the principal could talk informally with them and explain the educational philosophy of his school. This would become increasingly necessary as autonomous principals gradually produced individual educational

> environments. . . . Such individual, humane treatment of the prospective employee, which contrasts sharply with current practice, would mean that teachers would more often teach in schools that reflected their own beliefs or interests in educational practice. The result would be happier teachers and a more positive educational climate in many schools.

One limitation on such freedom is the requirement of many districts that intradistrict transfers be placed before new personnel. Thus, even in districts using school-based management, a principal is sometimes required to take a teacher he or she doesn't want.

The most common practice at present is for the central office to maintain a pool of qualified applicants. When a position opens up, the principal—often with involvement from staff and community—selects from the pool. The district negotiates such matters as salaries, working conditions, fringe benefits, and grievance procedures with the union, but the actual decision to hire is made by the principal.

In many school-based management districts, the principal has some flexibility to hire paraprofessionals instead of certificated teachers. In some districts, the decision must be reached mutually between the principal and school staff. In other districts, the decision can be made by the principal alone, as long as the school stays within state staffing laws.

So far, resistance from teachers' unions to school-based management has been minimal. One fear expressed by teachers is that principals might start acting as dictators if given more authority, so some unions want protection against this kind of mismanagement. Essentially, however, the concerns of teachers' unions do not significantly conflict with the concerns of school-based management.

Budget

Budget control is at the heart of school-based management, as is attested to by some of the alternative names for the concept, such as "school based budgeting" and "school site lump sum budgeting." Control of the curricula and of personnel are largely dependent on the control of the budget. Thus, as Longstreth notes, "the extent to which a school district may be determined to practice school-based

management is the extent to which the principal is allowed total budgetary discretion."

Many traditional districts allow principals control over expenditures for supplies and equipment only. Many school-based management districts, on the other hand, give the school a "lump sum," which the school site can spend in any way it sees fit. Individual schools, it should be pointed out, are not given the money outright. Instead, they purchase the services and products they need through or from the central office. The schools generate the decision to spend, and the central office carries out the schools' orders. The central office, however, also functions as a monitor of school spending and can intervene when a school is exceeding its budget or has other budget problems.

In the first step of the budgeting process, the central office allocates lump sums to the individual schools. In many districts, this is carried out with the aid of various pupil weighting schemes, some of which are quite elaborate. Fowler outlines one such pupil weighting formula. Paul Cunningham describes a similar system along with two other varieties for allocating funds based on "Educational Equivalents" and "Personnel Units," both of which reflect the average cost of a teacher in the district. A Monroe County School District (Florida) document describes the elaborate allocation system used in Florida districts, which is based on "each school's total *weighted* full time equivalent students." Caldwell describes the system used in Edmonton, Alberta, as "one of the most elaborate of any system with school-based budgeting."

The ideal, of course, is "a formula which can be applied uniformly and fairly to all schools but which takes account of factors that distinguish one school from another," as Caldwell states. Whatever method is used, even if it is based on "Personnel Units," should not be used to determine how the money is spent at the site. The formulas should be used only to distribute the funds equitably. The school site should retain authority over how those funds are spent.

What kinds of restraints should be put on the school site's authority to make budget decisions? Longstreth, a former superintendent in a school-based management district,

believes that *no* restrictions should be placed on the schools, except, of course, that they not exceed their budget. In practice, certain constraints will remain on the schools. The district's general educational objectives must be met, and student-teacher ratios must be kept within limits set by state law or collective bargaining agreements.

The second major step of the budgeting process is for the school site to actually budget its lump sum. This is the most critical process in school-based management, for it is from this process that most of the advantages of decentralized management stem, in particular the flexibility of the school to meet students' needs, and the feelings of "ownership" that people derive from making decisions at the school site.

The budget should be prepared with input from the school's staff and—according to most proponents of school-based management—from parents and students (at the secondary level) as well. The process should include the following elements, according to Caldwell: the assembly and interpreting of needs assessment data; the establishing of goals for school programs, as well as standards to measure progress by; the determining of allocations for personnel, supplies, equipment, and services based on the goals previously set forth; and the preparing of a written program budget for resource allocation.

Each school should be required to prepare an annual budget report for both the public and the central office. It is also extremely helpful if monthly financial statements are prepared by the central office staff, so that school personnel can know exactly how much they have spent already in each budget category.

Schools should be allowed to carry over budget surpluses from year to year. This practice allows schools to save money for expensive items that could not be included in a single year's budget. Longstreth recommends that a district remain committed to the carry-over provision, even in the face of a budget crisis, or the "spend it or lose it" attitude and its concommitant waste will immediately resurface.

Budgeting at the school site, say proponents, increases the efficiency of resource allocation. Teachers and other school staff become more aware of the costs of programs, the school's financial status, and its spending limitations.

Old programs "fade away to permit the establishment of alternative new ones," says Fowler. Budgeting becomes "markedly more realistic," continues Fowler, because the charade "of requesting more money than expected in hopes of receiving a reduced amount still sufficient for program goals" is ended.

How will spending vary among different schools? "In actual practice," states Longstreth, "the differences among school budgets within a district will be minor." A study by Seward, however, found that school-by-school spending in a decentralized district was significantly more diverse than that in an equivalent centralized district. Whether or not spending is more diverse, "being able to vary spending patterns fosters the idea of ownership within the school system and results in an involvement by employees to an extent usually not present in centralized systems," states Longstreth.

Shared Decision-Making

Increased community and staff participation in school decision-making has been an important component of school-based management wherever it has been implemented. In general, teachers, parents, and oftentimes students (at the secondary level) participate in decision-making as members of school advisory councils, which are usually distinct from the traditional PTAs or PTOs. Advisory councils vary widely in form, but generally they are composed of the principal, classroom teachers, other school personnel, parents, nonparent citizens, and students (at the secondary level). In some districts, the principal meets separately with a staff council as well as with an advisory council. Although their input usually comes by way of the same council, the involvement of staff and community members will be considered separately here.

Staff Involvement

It is possible, as noted earlier, to shift power from the central office to the school site without decentralizing it further. As Beaubier and Thayer note, however, "it makes very little difference to a teacher if decision making has been decentralized to the school unit if he has not gained freedom to make a decision in an area that was verboten before a decentralization decision."

Some districts and collective negotiation agreements require that principals involve teachers in decision-making. Other site management districts only encourage the principal to involve others. Thus, the extent of teacher involvement varies widely from district to district and from school to school. In general, though, all site management schools have involved teachers to some extent.

According to several research studies, a principal who shares power with teachers will not necessarily be losing power. Power is apparently an expandable quantity, which grows as it is shared among the members of an organization. "Because power is reciprocal, an increase in the power

of teachers should lead to a corresponding increase in the power of the principal," states an ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management publication. Conversely, "the principal who is stingy with power also circumscribes his own power."

Sharing decision-making authority at the school site, states Longstreth, "enables faculty to be personally involved in decisions crucial to them, which directly relate to their day-to-day activities within the school." As a result, faculty members develop a sense of "individual partnership or ownership" with the school.

Thus, it behooves the principal to involve teachers in policy decisions and give them more authority to design, develop, and evaluate their own curricula. To match this new authority, teachers should also be held responsible for their students' performance, states Pierce.

"As the climate created by decentralization demanded that teachers be significant decision makers, they would gradually become more educationally responsible," states Gasson. "They would teach according to their own beliefs, using the instructional materials that they had individually chosen for their particular setting." Eventually, they would become the "major recognized determiners of the curriculum."

If teachers are to become true professional educators, with both the responsibility and authority for classroom decisions, they should be paid commensurately. As Pierce notes, teachers are now "the lowest paid professionals in most school systems. The path to higher wages is out of and away from the classroom. The more remote from children one is, the more one gets paid." This situation should be reversed, states Pierce; "excellent teachers should be the highest paid professionals in a school with the possible exception of the school principal."

How should staff members be chosen for participation on a faculty committee? If the faculty elects members to the committee, says Longstreth, it will likely be more representative, but "it can also result in the selection of the more popular faculty members ignoring those with the necessary expertise." If the principal appoints members, the necessary expertise will be available, yet the committee may not be

representative. Despite the weaknesses of each method, says Longstreth, one or the other method should be used, or perhaps a combination of the two.

Community Involvement

School-based management often allies itself with the community involvement movement. Both are decentralization movements, but school-based management is more of an "administrative" decentralization that preserves the notion of professional control of education. The community involvement movement, on the other hand, is more "political" in nature and seeks to transfer real power to the community level. This discussion will confine itself to community involvement within a school-based management system.

The advantages of involving parents and other community members in school decision-making are many and well acknowledged. Public involvement enhances public support of the schools. The school becomes more responsive to community and student needs. Parents have more of a sense of "ownership" of their school. Parents can participate in decisions that affect their children.

The question that remains is how to achieve community input while retaining an accountable education system. Longstreth notes that "after advisory councils are formed and begin operation it is often discovered that the members serve no real function except as window dressing for the community providing only the appearance of lay involvement." On the other hand, "there is no general mechanism by which advisory councils can be held accountable for their decisions" if they are given real authority.

The only avenue left open—while still retaining the general structure of the educational governance system—is for school administrators to voluntarily accept and adopt the advice offered by community advisory councils. If the recommendations of the councils are repeatedly ignored or rejected, states Longstreth, "the council will quickly lose its membership and its effectiveness, or there will be a concerted effort to seek decision-making or veto power for it." Thus, it becomes vital for principals and other staff

members "to ensure a visible acceptance of implementation of the recommendations offered by the council."

One way to encourage the principal to involve the council in decisions would be to allow the council to participate in the selection of the principal. Guthrie recommends that parent councils have principal selection as their only real authority and be advisory in all other matters. Principals would be given a three- or four-year contract, "a period of time sufficient to implement programs and be evaluated," states Guthrie. Thereafter, the continuation of the principal's contract would be a joint decision between the council and the superintendent, with each having veto power.

The Oak Grove (California) School District uses another system to check dictatorial principals. Each school has an advisory council, and representatives from each council make up a district-level advisory council. If a principal is failing to involve the community in decision-making or is being too authoritative, the district-level council works with that principal.

Advisory councils, states Pierce, should be "intimately involved in designing and evaluating the school program." The council, Pierce continues, should "decide what students need to learn, assess the capabilities of both the school's teachers and programs to teach those competencies, recommend changes for improving the effectiveness of school programs, and design a system for evaluating school programs."

Another duty of the advisory council would be to prepare annual reports of school performance for distribution to the community. According to Pierce, Florida and California require that advisory councils prepare such reports. The reports, states Pierce, "would be the primary printed instrument by which clients could assess the effectivenes of their local school." The reports should contain the following information: descriptive information about the school; staff information, including experience and categories; student performance information; program strengths and deficiencies; and parent, teacher, and student evaluations of the school.

Whatever the duties of the parent advisory council, those duties should be clearly defined. Without guidelines, states

Longstreth, two major problems arise: "The councils frequently become involved in mundane school operations or inactivities such as fund raising (generally not considered an appropriate council role)," or they go to the other extreme and start influencing "matters normally considered beyond the scope of effective participation."

Council members could be selected by a variety of means. Longstreth advises that not all members be appointed by the principal, or the council may be viewed as a "hand-picked, rubber stamp" group. Some members should be elected to assure representation of interested community members, but others should be appointed to ensure "representation by persons from segments of the community which might not be included in the election process," such as minorities and the disadvantaged.

Parent participation at their child's school makes much more sense—and has a much more immediate impact—than participation at the district level. A parent member of a school council, quoted by Parker, put it like this:

> Let's face it: A parent's interest really is with his child's school—not an entire system. And that's where a teacher or principal's interest is too. If all of them working together can improve their own school then that's efficient, effective responsive education.

Because school-based management systems are designed to enhance community involvement in school decision-making, one area in which principals of autonomous schools must have competence is public relations. Good public relations demands more than disseminating periodic reports to the community.

It requires, states Pierce, that the principal have "the ability to communicate with the public in the sense of both learning about their preferences and concerns and providing citizens with information to help them make decisions about the school's educational programs." Principals must learn to work with school councils "as deliberative and decision-making groups," Pierce continues, "not as just an administrative arm of the principal's office."

Public relations skills are especially critical during a transition to school-based management, for it is at this time that traditional conceptions of how a school system operates are

challenged and replaced. If parents and other community members don't fully understand the new management system, they may resist it. Thus the principal should use every means at his or her disposal to communicate the organization of the new system to the public.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, the essential elements of school-based management have been described, with special emphasis on the principal's role in a decentralized management system. In brief, the role of the principal in a shift to school-based management would change from that of middle manager for the district to leader of the school. The school site would replace the district as the basic unit of educational governance, and the principal would become the central actor in school management, with authority over curricula, staffing, and budget matters. The central office, which now dictates so many of the actions that individual schools take, would become the facilitator of decisions made at the school site. Parents, teachers, and students would work with the principal to develop educational goals and implement decisions they helped make.

Studies of the implementation of school-based management indicate its "extraordinary complexity," states Caldwell. According to South, the change required to implement school-based management "is not particularly an administrative problem, an accounting problem," or "a curriculum and instruction problem." Rather, "it is a *combination, an integration* of all of these, which must be dealt with as a combination if change is to be effected."

Numerous examples of working school-based management systems already exist, and much can be learned by studying these districts. Successful implementation requires, first of all, extensive retraining of central office and school site personnel. The biggest stumbling block in implementing school-based mangement is breaking down the conventions that people hold about what should or can be. With extensive retraining and education, so that all school and central office personnel understand the new system, the change can be made smoothly and the school system can stabilize in its new management mode.

Successful implementation also requires strong support from the school board and superintendent. In fact, as Caldwell notes, the initiative to implement decentralized

budgeting "has invariably been taken by superintendents who have contended that better decisions will be made if resources are allocated with a high degree of school involvement."

Before it starts, the district must have a clear idea on the extent to which power will be decentralized. The authority that is to be given to the school site and to staff and community members should be decided in advance, to avoid confusion and conflict.

Finally, successful implementation requires a good deal of trust and commitment. The superintendent must trust school site personnel to do their jobs, and all concerned must be committed to making the system work. By all accounts, the system takes more work at the school site, but many educators believe that the rewards of autonomy and feelings of ownership are well worth the extra time and effort spent.

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